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REASONS

Shewing the NECESSITY of

Reducing the ARMY.

Price One Shilling.

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REASONS

Shewing the NECESSITY of

Reducing the Army,

And PROVING that the

NAVY of ENGLAND

Is her Only, and Natural Strength and Security.

WITH

A New PREFACE.

The SECOND EDITION.

——— *Arma tenenti,*
Omnia dat qui juſta negat.——

LONDON:

Printed for T. WARNER, at the *Black-Boy* in *Pater-noſter Row.* 1732.

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PREFACE.

HIS *Majeſty was moſt graciouſly pleaſed, ſoon after his Acceſſion, to promiſe his Parliament*; That he would reduce his Forces as ſoon as it cou'd be done without Prejudice to the Common Cauſe, and conſiſtent with the Intereſt of his Kingdom. *When the Congreſs was opened at* Soiſſons, *in order to accommodate all Differences then ſubſiſting in* Europe; *when we had the greateſt Hopes and Aſſurances that a general Peace was very near being eſtabliſhed; at this Time this little* Treatiſe *was firſt publiſhed, to give Reaſons why it was neceſſary for the Good of the Publick, for the Preſervation of our Conſtitution, and for the Security of our Laws and our Liberties, not to keep up a large Army in a free Country in time of Peace. It happen'd that this Congreſs broke up, without the deſired and pro-*

miſed glorious Effect. Whether the Points of Gibraltar *and* Port-Mahon *were not made the Conditions,* ſine qua non, *of that Treaty, as we were told they were to be, or to whatever Occaſion it was owing, the World was again thrown into the ſame Incertainty and Fluctuation of Affairs as before. The Peace therefore not being ſettled, theſe Pages could have no other Conſequence at that Time, than to ſhew Mankind the Neceſſity of reducing an Army, when it could moſt certainly and ſafely be done,* conſiſtent with the Intereſt of the Kingdom.

The great Work is at laſt effectuated, a general Pacification has eſtabliſhed the Tranquillity of Europe *: this, therefore is the proper Time to republiſh this Piece, when we are to think of reducing our Land-Forces, of returning to our antient Conſtitution, of ſhewing our Oeconomy, by beginning to make a proper and a juſt Saving to the Publick, encumber'd with ſo heavy a load of Debts; and of ſhewing Mankind likewiſe, that we are willing, as ſoon as we are able, to be Juſt. And above all, that we are zealous to preſerve our Civil Rights and Liberties, at a time when it can be done with the utmoſt Security.*

I am afraid too many imagine a Standing Army to be a neceſſary and an eſſential Part of our Conſtitution; not conſidering, it is only kept up and paid from Year to Year by Parliament.—But as it has been annually joined to us for a long time, it may look to many as if it were conſolidated with, and become a Part of our Eſtabliſhment. Yet the Caſe is far otherwiſe; thank Heaven we are not reduced, and I hope we never ſhall be, to that great Neceſſary of an Abſolute Government, a Standing Army in Times of Peace. *Abſolute Governments muſt be Military Governments, and Military Governments are utterly inconſiſtent with a free People. It is the Profeſſion of a Soldier, to decide by Force and the Sword: it is the Buſineſs of the Civil Power, to determine by Law and Juſtice. No wonder then, if two ſuch different Powers do not very naturally agree under one Adminiſtration; ſince we know too, that the ſtrongeſt are always the beſt Caſuiſts, when Arguments are to be carried on the Point of the Sword. But our Army, ſay thoſe who are for keeping up our Standing Forces, is very far from being dangerous; it is well regulated, well paid, well diſciplined; and commanded by Men of Honour, Intereſt and Diſtinction in their*

Country. I grant it is ſo, and that the Officers are Gentlemen of great Worth and Honour; but ſurely, the better diſciplined an Army is, the more dangerous it is to the Liberties of the People; as want of Diſcipline and Order muſt render them weak, and leſs capable of doing harm. And as to the Virtue of the Officers, we can ourſelves remember the time when they were cloſeted and garbled by the Court, and thoſe who wou'd not come into its Meaſures diſcharged the Service. And, but for the particular Interpoſition of Providence, who gave the Perſons then in the Adminiſtration no time to go on with their Meaſures, we might have fatally experienced what an Army ſo garbled was capable of performing. Marius, *and* Sylla, *and* Cæſar, *and* Cromwell, *and many more Maſters of victorious and well-diſciplined Armies, ſeized on the Liberties of their Countries, and ſheathed their Weapons in the Boſoms of thoſe who paid them their Wages.*

No true Engliſhman *but muſt abhor the Thought of ſeeing a large Standing Army entailed upon the Nation; and ſurely, the proper and only time to reduce the Army is this time of general Peace, when we are not only free from all*

all manner of foreign and domeſtick Apprehenſions; but when we have a Prince on the Throne, whoſe chief Glory it is to govern by the Laws of the Land, and to reign in the Hearts of his Subjects; and when we have a wiſe and uncorrupt Parliament, who watch carefully for the publick Welfare.

If it has hitherto happened, that the bad Circumſtances of our Affairs have not ſuffer'd us to reduce our Army ſo low as every good Engliſhman *wiſhed it to be, we ſhall not ſurely, at this time, when it is acknowledged in Parliament, when we are graciouſly told from the Throne, that* the general Tranquillity of *Europe* is reſtored and eſtabliſhed, *think of keeping up an Army of* 20,000 *Men, and loading the Publick with all that great and unneceſſary Charge. The keeping up a Standing Army in Times of Peace, was ſo far from being practiſed in* England *under the Government of any, even our moſt abſolute Princes, that as* The ſhort Hiſtory of Standing Armies *obſerves* — During all the Wars of *York* and *Lancaſter*, whatever Party prevailed, we do not find they ever attempted to keep up a Standing Army. Such was the Virtue of thoſe Times, *ſays he*, that they wou'd rather run the hazard

hazard of forfeiting their Heads and Eſtates to the Rage of the oppoſite Party, than certainly enſlave their Country, tho they themſelves were to be the Tyrants. *I beg leave to conclude in the Words of another ingenious Writer, who ſays with great Truth and Spirit* ——That all Standing Armies may be made Inſtruments of Faction; becauſe a Body of Men, ſeparated in many reſpects from the reſt of the Nation, conſtrained to different Cuſtoms, and in ſome meaſure ſubject to different Laws; may be eaſily perſuaded that they have a different Intereſt. And theſe Caſuiſts in red, *ſays he*, are the more dangerous in this reſpect, that having Swords by their Sides, they are able at once to cut thoſe *Gordian* Knots, which others muſt untie by degrees.

I have ſaid nothing relating to the diſmiſſing of the 12,000 Heſſian *Troops, becauſe, it is generally believed, care has been taken for the doing that already. It wou'd indeed give too much occaſion for murmuring, at this happy Juncture, if they ſhou'd ſtill be thought neceſſary, the Bent of the People having been thought to be generally againſt keeping up of foreign Forces in* Engliſh *Pay. We have been told, this Subſidy amounts*

to

to no leſs than a Tax of Six-pence in the Pound. Theſe Troops are not to be kept up now, ſurely, for the ſake of any Dominions Abroad; Gibraltar *and* Port-Mahon *are ſafe*; *the Peace is concluded*; *the Treaties of* Seville, Vienna, *&c. are all accompliſhed to our Satisfaction. In a word, every Reaſon which, laſt Year, the Author of a Pamphlet, intitled,* Conſiderations on the Preſent State of Affairs, *offer'd for maintaining thoſe Troops is vaniſhed: And therefore we hope and believe they will be kept up no longer.*

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REASONS, &c.

I AM very well ſatisfy'd that as ſoon as theſe Sheets appear, I ſhall be pelted with all the common place Scandal uſually given to thoſe who differ from ſome Men in Opinion and Intereſt; I ſhall ſometimes be a Malecontent, at other times a Mock-Patriot, and moſt certainly and always a Jacobite; but as I am conſcious, I heartily intend the Good of Mankind by publiſhing my Thoughts on this occaſion; I am deter-

min'd to ſuffer Reproach, as a Martyr to Truth ought.

WHAT I ſhall ſay in the following Pages againſt a Standing Force, as inconſiſtent with our Laws and Conſtitution, I mean to ſay with as much Duty and Regard for the truly Royal and Princely Virtues of his Majeſty as any Courtiers of them all: And when I deliver my humble Opinion in what manner our Conſtitution is beſt to be maintain'd and ſupported, they will be pleas'd to know, that I do my beſt to ſerve my Prince and my Country; and if inſtead of attempting to raiſe Triumphal Arches, and Pyramids of gilded Honour, I honeſtly point out what I conceive to be the ſolid Foundation of true Glory and Power, however imperfectly my Deſign may be executed, I hope at leaſt I ſhall be pardon'd the Attempt.

AND as I have the Honour to be perſonally acquainted with ſeveral Gentlemen in the Army, and know more of them by Character, to be Men of great

great Worth and true Honour, and utterly incapable of conceiving, and much leſs of executing any Deſigns againſt their native Country, ſome of them having been tryed in times of great Temptation as well as of Danger; I hope they will be ſo juſt to themſelves and to me, to conſider, that whatever Arguments are brought in theſe Papers againſt a Standing Army, and the danger that our Conſtitution may ſuffer from it, are by no means to be underſtood as levell'd particularly or perſonally: and were they, and the magnanimous Prince who Commands them, *Immortal*; the Dangers which we conceive might ariſe from this quarter, wou'd be only in Speculation: give me leave therefore to talk of Armys, as Armys generally are, and as they may relatively do good or harm to us.

OUR Hiſtory from the Reign of *Richard* the Second, to King *Charles* the Firſt, gives us not one Inſtance of any King of *England* who kept a Standing Army in time of Peace. *Henry* the Seventh it is true, raiſed a few Men,

rather for his perſonal Attendance than Defence, and called them *Yeomen of the Guard*; and the Armys that were in thoſe Days from time to time occaſionally raiſed, to quell inteſtine Diſorders, or for foreign Service, were always conſtantly and immediately disbanded when that Service was over; and even in the bloody and civil Diſſenſions between the Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*, we never hear that the Conqueror ever kept his Force on foot when the Action was over.

KING *Charles* the Firſt after his Misfortunes, found himſelf in the Power of the Army, which very Army, tho the Parliament raiſed it, and voted it to be disbanded, refuſed to obey its Maſters, took poſſeſſion of the Perſon of the King, drew up themſelves a Charge of High Treaſon againſt ſeveral Members of Parliament for attempting to disband them, and then cut off the King's Head.

AFTER this, by this very Standing Army *Cromwell* governed, he divided

England

England into Diſtricts, and placed Major Generals over them, who like ſo many *Baſhaws* decimated the poor Cavaliers, and raiſed Taxes at Pleaſure.

UPON the Death of *Cromwell* the Army ſet up *Richard* his Son, he called a new Parliament, which was ſoon diſſolved by the Soldiers, who immediately took the Power into their own Hands, and then unable to manage it, they gave the People their Commonwealth again, and ſoon after took it from them once more, becauſe they refuſed to make the Military, independent of the Civil Power; then *Old England* was govern'd by a *Council of War*, who called themſelves *The Committee of Safety*, and *Conſervators of Liberty*: but this Model pleaſing as little as the reſt, they agreed to ſend two Repreſentatives from every Regiment, in which ſhou'd conſiſt the *Great Council of the Nation*.

THIS, ridiculous as it may ſeem, is the lively Example of the Government of

of an Army, and an Army too that was raiſed for, and in defence of the Cauſe of Liberty, well diſciplined, religious, ſober. If this Army durſt to commit Violence to its Maſters, when the People were fond of their new gotten Liberty, and but juſt recover'd from Arbitrary Power; if ever for our Sins it ſhou'd happen in any future Age, that an Army ſhou'd become diſſolute and debauched, and a People corrupt and inclin'd to Slavery, what may they not attempt with Succeſs?

KING *James* the Second raiſed and maintain'd out of his Revenue an Army of 18,000 Men; ſoon after his Acceſſion *Monmouth* landed in the *Weſt*, and a Body of between 5 and 6000 Men which the Duke had with him were defeated by 2000 of the King's regular Troops; upon this Succeſs King *James* increas'd his Army, and told his Parliament he wou'd not part with them, he *expected* he ſaid a Supply, told them in effect, that an Army would as certainly raiſe Money, as Money wou'd raiſe

raiſe an Army, and upon their rouſing the true *Engliſh* Spirit, and not inclining to be bully'd out of their Property, he prorogu'd them, and increas'd his Army in *England* to 20,000 Men, and in *Ireland* to 8000 Men. The great Error of King *James*, after he had raiſed and eſtabliſhed his *Engliſh* Army, was bringing over Regiments from *Ireland*, and putting *Iriſh* Papiſts into *Engliſh* Regiments, and caſhiering both Officers and Soldiers, as faſt as he could get Supplys of *Iriſh* Catholicks; by this means, by diſtruſting, he diſobliged his Army: and to this, and other Acts of Folly and Bigotry, we owe the Bleſſing of the Revolution, or we might have felt at this hour, what a Standing Army is capable of effecting.

WHEN King *William* came in, one fundamental Article for the Eſtabliſhment of our Libertys in the *Bill of Rights*, was in theſe words, *That the keeping up a Standing Army in Times of Peace, is contrary to Law.* Upon the Peace of *Ryſwick*, only part of the Army was diſbanded

banded at firſt; and as the People were before prevailed upon to keep up the Army in hopes of a Peace, ſo now they were told they muſt keep them up for fear of a new War, and the *Penſioners* and the *Place-Men* were all in that Opinion. *France* was arming, the King of *Spain* dying, and a hundred Pretences were occaſionally invented, to amuſe and alarm the People, and to make the keeping of the Army on foot neceſſary and uſeful: and this ended in a Parliamentary Eſtabliſhment of *Ten Thouſand Men*, whereof the greater Number were to be Horſe and Dragoons, and the Sum given for their Support was 350,000 Pounds.

THUS a *Standing Army* was eſtabliſhed by *Law* among us; thus, what no Prince had ever the Courage to ask before, what the Penſioner Parliament cou'd not think of without Horror, what King *James*'s own Parliament would not debate, was fixed at once upon us, and under our glorious Deliverer King *William*.

YET

YET upon the Concluſion of the Peace of *Ryſwick*, and not long before this Eſtabliſhment, we may remember the Fears with which the Minds of the People were agitated with relation to a Standing Army; they were ſo great, that they oblig'd the King to ſend back his blue Guards, who had ſerved his Majeſty long and faithfully, and who would have been pleaſed to have kept them near his Perſon: and this the Parliament oblig'd their Prince to do, tho they were very ſenſible of the many Bleſſings they had received from him, and always gratefully acknowledg'd them: and the Eſtabliſhment afterwards, as we have ſaid, for Guards and Gariſons, was but ten thouſand Men, which we ſee is ſince increaſed to 22,000 Men; and ſo dangerous are Precedents of this kind, that we ſhould now think our ſelves very happy to ſee the Army reduced to the Number of 10,000 Men, which at that time many honeſt and ſenſible People, complain'd of as an Incroachment upon their Libertys.

I HAVE ſeen a Computation of our Land Forces, and the Land Forces in our pay, in ſeveral Parts of the World, during the laſt Year of the late War, by which they amounted to *Two hundred and one thouſand, one hundred and ſixteen Men*; a prodigious, and almoſt incredible Expence; the Load of which does ſtill lie heavy upon us. Soon after the Peace of *Utrecht*, there was a general Reduction, (except about 8000 Men, and ſeven Regiments left in *Flanders*, and thoſe on the *Iriſh* Eſtabliſhment.) When the Rebellion broke out in *Scotland* and *England*, the Army was augmented with additional Regiments; ſince that they have ſeveral times occaſionally increaſed and diminiſhed, ſometimes Men have been added to Companys and Troops, and ſometimes whole Companys and Troops to Regiments.

OUR preſent Eſtabliſhment in *England*, for Guards and Gariſons only, is *Twenty two thouſand, nine hundred and fifty five Men*, including ſix independent Companys

Companys in *North Britain*. The Charge of maintaining this Army by the Publick, amounts to *Seven hundred eighty ſix thouſand, nine hundred and odd Pounds*; and this, too, excluſive of the Troops on the *Iriſh* Eſtabliſhment, our Gariſons and Plantations abroad, and beſide what we pay for Mercenarys to the *Landgrave of Heſſecaſſel*, and Subſidies to the *Duke of Wolfembuttle*, &c.

THUS it is plain we have a greater ſtanding Force kept up at this hour in *Great Britain*, than ever was known to any of our Anceſtors in times of Peace; I think I may call it Peace, however expenſive it may be with relation to our preſent Circumſtances.

THERE are ſeveral Reaſons, which, as they occur to me, make the reducing the Army at this time to be neceſſary and beneficial to the Publick; and if they ſhall have the ſame Weight with others as with me, I hope this will be thought worthy a Parliamentary Inquiry.

FIRST, we ought to think, whenever we can do it with ſafety, of leſſening the great Expence of the Nation; this very Article, as we ſee, amounting to near 800,000 Pounds a Year, a very large annual Charge, at a time when we are ſo immenſly in debt: we ought at leaſt to ſhew, by the moſt exact Oeconoomy in our Publick Affairs, that we are willing, as faſt as we are able, to think of reducing our ſuperfluous Expences; and if ſome part of the Army were reduc'd, it would begin the good Work of Saving to the Publick. When I talk of Reduction, I would be underſtood to mean the Reduction of Corps's intire; for what I have heard lately mentioned, of keeping the Corps's intire, and only leſſening the Numbers of Men, cannot be called a Reduction, at leaſt ſuch a Reduction as will be neceſſary; it will neither anſwer what is expected from it in the Expence, or otherwiſe; it may make ſome People wrongfully imagine, that the preſent Number of Corps's are to become a

Part

Part of our Conſtitution, and that we muſt never hope to ſee them leſſened: As to the Saving, 'tis impoſſible to contrive it ſo as to make it of great uſe to the Publick, for I have always underſtood, in a general Computation of the Charge of a Regiment, that the Officers are at leaſt two thirds of the Expence; ſo that if you reduce the Men, and not the Officers, the Charge is very little reduced, and will amount to little more than what has been practiſed by a vicious Commiſſary in falſe Muſters.

THIS likewiſe ſeems to me the proper time for doing this, as the Affairs of *Europe*, which have been troubled and very much embroiled for ſome time paſt, ſeem now, at leaſt to the Apprehenſion of thoſe who are not in the Secret, to be clearing up: and as our Miniſters, who have been always heartily ſupplied with every Power they have asked from Parliament, and have had ſome Aids unknown till within a few Years to our Conſtitution, but which the Parliament intruſted them with,

with, from the Aſſurances given them of the great Succeſs they muſt have abroad, tho ſome were apprehenſive the Precedent might be attended with ſome little danger at home; thus aſſiſted, I ſay, we have no reaſon to doubt, but by the great Wiſdom and Addreſs of his Majeſty's Miniſters, both at home and at *Soiſſons*, that a laſting and a ſolid Peace will be eſtabliſh'd in *Europe*.

THE Affections of the People (the great Bulwark and Honour of every Prince's Throne) are intirely with our moſt gracious Sovereign: His chief and firſt Happineſs is placed, where it ought to be, and where his beſt Security is, in the Hearts and Affections of his Subjects; there he reigns, and I hope will always reign an abſolute Monarch, defended by Guards never to be conquer'd or corrupted: How glorious! how great does a King appear thus ſecured, when a whole People bleſs him, who are bound by their Affections, to what their Intereſt and their Duty would oblige them, and obey and ſupport him willingly

lingly in War and Peace? When I ſee him thus ſurrounded, and hear the Acclamations of his Subjects; the broad Swords, the embroidered Belts, and the Feathers that trot after him, look in my Eyes only like uſeleſs and glittering Trifles; and, but that Cuſtom has authoriz'd the Sight, they would leſſen the Joy I received, by cauſing me to imagine the Sovereign diſtruſted the Loyalty of his People, and therefore did not think proper to go abroad without theſe venal Attendants. This Affection of his People, is a Glory that the moſt deſpotick Monarch in the Univerſe may envy and ſigh after in vain; we ſee the one crowned with bloody Laurels, the other wreathed with peaceful Olive: The one ſees the plenteous Harveſt bleſſing all around him, and enjoys the Pleaſure that riſes in a good Mind, filled with Love and Benevolence to his fellow Creatures; the other plumes himſelf in a ſucceſsful Field of Slaughter, or perhaps in having invaded the Property of his weaker and unoffending Neighbour.

ANO-

ANOTHER great Inconvenience from ſuch a Number of Troops, and which His *Majeſty* muſt ſee with Concern, is the Burden they are to his People in many Places where they are quartered: thoſe who keep Publick Houſes, and are obliged by Law to give them Lodging and Proviſion for Horſe and Man, at a ſmall ſettled rate, have choſen, many of them, to take down their Signs, to give over their Buſineſs, and look out for ſome new means of ſuſtaining themſelves and their Familys, being unable to ſupport the exceſſive Burden they lay under on this Account; eſpecially in the Towns and Villages adjacent to *London*, where Forage and Proviſions are always dear.

THE Loſs of ſo many hands to the Publick, is no mean Conſideration; as theſe Men in Arms neither ſow nor plough, but are fed by the Sweat and Labour of the honeſt Hind, they look to the People like ſo many uſeleſs hands, a ſort of *Military Monks:* Nor can I conceive

conceive any reaſon why theſe People ſhould be denied the Uſe of their Limbs, or not ſuffer'd to employ them in gaining their Livelihood, as well as the reſt of his Majeſty's Subjects; as it is certain Idleneſs muſt render them enervate, and conſequently if ever they are to be of uſe, leſs capable of their own Buſineſs. The Reaſon why they have not been permitted in ſome arbitrary Kingdoms to labour in the Country Works, has been out of a political Regard, and to prevent all Familiarity and Affection between the Peaſant and the Soldier, which might ſome time or other prove dangerous to the Monarch; but here that Reaſon cannot ſubſiſt: I believe it would be much more agreeable to moſt People to ſee a luſty Fellow employ'd in the Tillage of our Land, and whiſtling to his Team in the Furrow, than loitering upon an Alehouſe Bench in a Country Village, with a broad Sword in his hand, or poaching after the Poultry, or the Wives and Daughters of the honeſt and laborious Farmers: nor do I conceive our Hero's Honour or his Courage could

receive any conſiderable damage, altho he ſhould be ſuffer'd to make a Pair of Shoes, or a Doublet; would he not cock his Hat as much like a Soldier, or turn out his Toes as gracefully, and waſte the King's Powder as manfully, when he was called to that part of his Vocation, tho he ſhould at other times ſully his Fingers with a Saw or a Chiſſel, or deſcend to handle a Scythe, or a Reap-hook; he then might be a Thing of Uſe as well as Show, ornamental and beneficial too.

LET us ſee next what Dangers may happen to the Prince and the Publick, from ſuch a Body of armed and idle Men.

FIRST as to the Prince; the People, who are naturally jealous, and Jealouſy we know is the Child of Love, when they ſee ſo great an Army maintained, and no manner of Buſineſs for them either at Home or Abroad, may be apt to fancy their Loyalty diſtruſted, and conſequently not to confide much, where

where they are not confided in: and this Jealouſy, tho never ſo unreaſonable and unjuſt, ought however by all means to be prevented. The next thing that might with Reaſon be apprehended, is the Danger of reducing them; ſhould they be continued thus from Year to Year, they would in time look to us like a Part of our Conſtitution, or what would be worſe, they might look upon themſelves as ſuch, and refuſe to be reduced. We have frequent Examples in Hiſtory, where Armys, like wild Beaſts, have broke thro' their Diſcipline, and turn'd upon their Keepers; the Pretorian Bands of the *Roman* Emperors often dethroned and butchered their Maſters, and it has been common, even in theſe latter Ages, for the Court Janizarys to change the Lords of the *Ottoman* Empire. I mention not theſe Inſtances, that I believe or fear, which I thank God we have not the leaſt Reaſon to apprehend, that there will ever be a parallel Caſe here, but only to ſhow to what Extremes the wild and ungoverned Will of Man may be driven.

AS to the Dangers that may ariſe to the People from a large and eſtabliſhed Army, it is impoſſible to conſider a Standing Force ſufficient to oppoſe any Foreign Power, without conſidering it as ſufficient likewiſe to oppreſs the Subject; for they muſt beat thoſe whom we ſuppoſe able to beat us: or if the Caſe ſhou'd be otherwiſe, we may be aſſured that an Army which can do no hurt, can do no good, they muſt therefore be uſeleſs, or capable of hurting. I need not inſiſt on ſhewing my Reader in what manner the Soldiery have produced almoſt in every Age and Country violent and ſudden Revolutions. I have already ſaid how *Cromwell*'s Army expelled the Parliament under whom they fought, and by whom they were raiſed and paid; nor need I to enter here into the great Uſe and Strength which a well regulated Militia muſt be acknowledged to be, to a free People.

SOME-

SOMETIMES Armys may be dangerous both to the Prince and to the People too, as in Caſes of a general Mutiny, they have been known to throw off their Obedience both to their Princes and Commanders, and have undertaken, as we have ſhewn before, to govern by themſelves. How dreadful the Condition of the People muſt be under ſuch an Adminiſtration, is much more eaſy to be imagin'd than deſcribed; particular Care therefore ought to be taken, not only that the Soldier be kept in due Order and Diſcipline, but that he be well uſed and juſtly paid. And here I cannot help mentioning a very late Inſtance, when the Soldiers in the immediate Service of their Country, even ſome of thoſe employ'd in the Defence of the Siege of *Gibralter*; and while they were under Duty, and in actual Service, were not ſo well uſed as they ought to have been, at a time too when their Courage and Spirits ought to have received a more than ordinary Indulgence. It is inhuman and unge-

ungenerous at any time to receive any Profit that may ariſe out of their lawful Subſiſtence: God knows they have not Superfluitys; but it was a very dangerous trial of their Virtue, and but that *Engliſhmen* when abroad, I believe were never known to have taken Arms againſt their Country, the Conſequences might have been worſe, and the Avarice, not to ſay the Injuſtice of ſome few, might have loſt us that important Fortreſs: But the great Wiſdom and exemplary Juſtice of his moſt Sacred Majeſty has interpoſed and given for this time a Check to Corruption; how far he will be pleaſed to look back to do Right to every one that has been wronged, and perhaps in the ſame manner for ſome Years paſt, we have not time in this place to inquire; and I only mention this to ſhew how detrimental to the Prince and the Publick a Mutiny muſt be, from whatever Spring it may ariſe.

ONE thing more only I beg leave to mention, becauſe much inſiſted on by the Advocates for a Standing Force, and that is,

is, the great uſe it may be of to quell any unnatural Rebellion. I will not ask how they have always been quelled in *England*, after I have ſhewn that we have for 1000 Years never had an eſtabliſh'd Standing Army: but Rebellions are not to be very ſuddenly and ſilently work'd up into a Power that can be dangerous to any but the Contrivers; the laſt Rebellion in *Scotland* was ſome time in forming, and was managed and fomented, and kept up with great Art by a very dexterous Perſon, and one who had great Intereſt among, and knew the Paſſions of the People well with whom he dealt, and yet were they ſo ſlow in their Operations, that the Government had time to ſend for an Army from *Holland* of 6000 Men, who came over, marched almoſt the whole length of our Iſland, and arrived time enough in *Scotland* to have their Share in the Reduction of them. As to the practice of bringing Soldiers to quell every little Tumult, and riotous Aſſembly, it ſeems to me to be much more properly the Buſineſs of the Civil Magiſtrate, and he and the trained Bands, as

deſpicable

deſpicable as they are repreſented, are more than ſufficient for that purpoſe, eſpecially ſince the wholeſom Laws that have been made in the laſt Reign, have almoſt put an end to theſe Mobs: And the Peace-Officers muſt be remarkably remiſs in their Duty if Riots are now permitted to grow to any Head. I confeſs I am not ſo fond as ſome People ſeem to be, of ſeeing Soldiers employed on every Publick Occaſion, particularly the frequent ſending of Troops to Guard Seizures of Goods, when the Civil Power might be ſufficient, if they were regularly ſummon'd by the Magiſtrate to take care that the King did not ſuffer. And the old way of guarding our Executions by the Servants of the Sheriff, looked to me to be more conformable to the Methods of Civil Government among a free People, than to ſee a Party of regular Troops, (tho the fineſt in the World) ranged in exact Diſcipline round the Gallows. Nor am I extremely delighted in beholding our publick Diverſions kept in Order by the Terror of two tall Grenadiers, with Bayonets fixed, in the Front

of

of our Theatre; and to my Eyes, two plain Conſtables, with the Staffs of their Civil Authority in their Hands, wou'd be a much more agreeable and pleaſing Sight, becauſe every one knows, that even when there is occaſion, the Soldiers can only act in Aid of the Civil Power.

But to conclude this part of my Diſcourſe; give me leave to ſay that all Governments, wholly ſupported by Mercenarys, are Tyrannys, nor wou'd there be any thing that I can find in our Air, our Sun, our Soil, or our Manners, to hinder us, ſhou'd we ever be ſo unhappy to fall under the like Circumſtances, from being ſubject to the like Effects.

I SHALL now only ask my Reader's Patience, while I endeavour to ſhew him where our great Strength lies, and in what our natural Security conſiſts.

THE great and natural Strength which I mean, is OUR NAVY. THE NAVY OF *ENGLAND*. We have had no Rivals at leaſt of late Years, not one of any the moſt formidable Maritime Powers hath pretended to Rivalſhip with us in the Dominion of the Seas; therefore one ſhould think if we can contrive it ſo to be content with our Happineſs and agree at Home, our Situation, and a proper Care of our Seamen and our Shipping muſt protect us from any Foreign Invaſion. The plauſible pretence of ſecuring us from this Danger is an Argument made uſe of by many for the keeping up our preſent Standing Force: but I think they do not conſider enough, how mad, how impracticable, and how dangerous any Enterprize of that kind muſt be, while we remain Maſters of the Sea. I believe the Embarquement of the Troops under the Prince of *Orange* was managed with as much Expedition and Secrecy as an Affair of that kind cou'd be, yet how

how much was it talk'd of? And how long and impatiently was it expected? King *James* had, long before they arrived, not only a Liſt of the Number and Burden of the Ships, and I think the Tranſports were no leſs than 700, but of the Names and Characters likewiſe of every Captain in the Prince's Fleet; and if the Navy and the People had not been wholly with the Prince, in Heart and Principle, that glorious Enterprize might have miſcarried. If then 700 Ships were neceſſary to Tranſport only 14000 Men at the Revolution, whence or how are we to be invaded? Are we to be attack'd by an Army to deſcend from the *flying Iſland* diſcover'd by Captain *Gulliver*, which may hover over *Salisbury Plain*, and pour upon us at once like a Shower of Hail, where no Ships can come: I grant in this Caſe our raw and undiſciplin'd Militia might quail at the Sight, and ſo might our Veteran Legions too. This may be called trifling, and ſo is the Apprehenſion and Suppoſition that we are to fall all aſleep at once:

Can any neighbouring Maritime Power fit out a Squadron to invade *England* without our having Notice? ſuch Notice, as without we are become the moſt ſupine, as well as the moſt corrupt Nation upon Earth, muſt render all their Deſigns abortive, and ineffectual.

BUT let us go down to Particulars, and conſider our ſelves with relation to our Neighbours: It may be allow'd me that from *Holland* we have nothing to fear, they being inviolably attached to us, by that only Principle that can bind one Nation to another, mutual Intereſt. The *French* have for many Years had no conſiderable Fleet at Sea, I think never ſince their laſt Engagement with us in the *Mediterranean*, when Sir *George Rook* commanded our Fleet: But ſuppoſe *France*, at preſent our good Friend and Ally (and I own, for my part, I think it is no improbable Suppoſition, that ſhe may hereafter be our Enemy) but I ſay, ſuppoſe *France* ſhou'd be vain enough

to

to think of invading us, we will imagine likewiſe that their Councils are managed with Secrecy and Wiſdom, and undiſcernable to vulgar Eyes, but every Eye muſt ſee, and every Ear muſt hear the Preparations neceſſary to equip a Naval Armament for ſuch an Enterprize; will they Rig, Careen, and Gun, and Man their Ships in private? The Calker's Hammers, and Carpenter's Axes are not uſed to do their Buſineſs with a little Noiſe; and ſhall we, whom it moſt concerns, be the only deaf and blind People in the World? Will they join their Ships from their ſeveral Ports without our knowing one word of the matter? *Breſt*, their moſt commodious Port will not contain a ſufficient Number of Ships, nor cou'd they one wou'd think, ſail round from *Marſeilles* to *Breſt* and *Dunkirk*, without our having any the leaſt Notice of the Affair. *Dunkirk* was a Port indeed from whence their Privateers galled us in the laſt War, but neither cou'd that be ſufficient to equip a Fleet for the Deſign we talk of;

of; beſides that Port is, or ought to be, incapable of carrying any Ship of Burden: every one knows, that by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, its Harbour, Baſon, and all its Works were agreed to be rendered uſeleſs and demoliſhed, and by the moſt ſolemn Engagements in that Treaty ſtipulated, never to be made a Port again: And ſurely they have never ſince that time, in violation of the Treaty, been repaired and render'd capable of receiving Ships of Burden; neither could they come out of *Dunkirk* with their Guns on board, and while they are taking them in, if it were poſſible for us to have any Intelligence of them, our Fleet might prevent their Deſigns.

AND ſuppoſing we ſhould grant, notwithſtanding what has been ſaid againſt the Probability of our being invaded, and notwithſtanding what may be ſaid, that the Name of a *Jacobite* is ſeldom made uſe of, or in the Mouth of any, but a few who have an Intereſt in keeping up that Title; and tho

a Jacobite is as rare a Creature among us now as a Roſicruſian, and his Schemes as chimerical; yet let us, for the Argument ſake, allow that there are ſuch People, and that they are able now to form a Scheme, and prevail upon any of our Neighbours who ſhould prove weak, or wild enough, to ſupport it from abroad: Yet, I have heard, the moſt experienc'd and ſucceſsful General that this latter, or perhaps any Age has ever produced, I mean the late Duke of *Marlborough*, hath often declared that he would undertake to defeat any Power that could poſſibly be drawn together and embarked, and land ſo as to ſurprize us, with only three Batalions of Guards, and two Regiments of Dragoons, ſupported by a weighty Train of Artillery; that he would march directly againſt the foreign Troops, without regarding the Motions of the Rebels, or dividing his Forces to attack them.

BETWEEN *Spain* and us, 'tis true, there have been lately great Miſunderſtandings; but her Fleet is at leaſt in as low a Condition as that of *France*; her Situation more remote, and her Ports very incommode for ſuch an Undertaking; and ſhe has too lately felt the Power of an *Engliſh* Fleet in the *Mediterranean*, when we did not tamely fail by them only, but ſtruck a Blow which was of uſe to us, and broke the Meaſures of *Alberoni*, who was a Genius like to have buſied the World, and ſeemed at that time to awaken the *Spaniard* and rouſe him to Action. No one will imagine, ſurely, that ſince this we have not followed our Blow, or bungled ſo in our Affairs, to be obliged to make an *Amende honorable*, for doing an Action that was natural and juſt, and our Intereſt: ſurely we could not be capable of doing a ſilly thing to excuſe a right one. Some People are likewiſe apt to cenſure us as too mild, and too polite; they

they think we ſhould have burnt their Ships, and plundered their Coaſts, inſtead of contenting our ſelves with blocking up their Harbours, or looking in upon them as we ſailed by: the Man, ſay they, who ſhakes his Cane over another, is in the Laws of Honour as guilty of affronting him, as if he actually cudgell'd him. We affronted the *Spaniard*, and he accordingly reſented it as warmly as he could: we had the Pleaſure and the Expence of the Quartel, and I cou'd wiſh we had received the Profit that might have attended it.

I HAVE ſhewn thus that we have nothing to apprehend of this kind from our Neighbours, *Holland* being our Friend, and *France* and *Spain* in no capacity to hurt us: and it is not probable that any of the Northern Crowns will ever think of ſucceeding in any Attempt of this kind.

IT is therefore an undeniable Truth, that the great and only uſeful, and natural Strength of *England*, is her Fleet; theſe wooden Caſtles are of more ſolid defence to her, than thoſe natural Rocks which incircle and guard her. Had ſome ſmall Part only of the many Millions which were conſumed in training a very numerous Land-Army, a Glory-hunting upon the Continent, during the laſt War, been employed on board the Navy, I fancy 20,000 of thoſe brave Men might have been felt more effectually there, than 50, or 60,000 of them in *Flanders*, and have done more ſervice to the common Cauſe.

OUR Neighbours regard us, only as they obſerve the Oeconomy and Polity of our Government; this reflects upon us Glory or Shame, Honour or Scandal. The ill Management therefore of our Maritime Affairs, and the remarkable Neglect of them till very lately,

lately, has been owing to ſome ill-judging and vain Politicians, who obſerving that the great Men among our Neighbours, who have been famed for the Arts of Government, employed themſelves continually in forming Conventions and Alliances, and working Balances of Intereſt and Power; they therefore likewiſe, without conſidering, as they ought, or comparing the different Natures and Situation of their Government from ours, have been throwing us upon the ſame Meaſures with our Neighbours on the Continent; by this means we may be frequently drawn into Quarrels to which we have not any pretence, and may be made Principals where we ought not to be concerned as Seconds, and made to defend Alliances, to which we ought not to have been Partys.

IT is, and always muſt be deemed to be the true Intereſt of *England* to maintain her Commerce, and the Sovereignty of the Seas; all other Domi-

nion would not only be uſeleſs, but burdenſom to her: Shou'd ſhe attempt to make Conqueſts on the Continent, ſhe might, like a greedy Infant, endeavour to graſp what ſhe could not hold. Let her therefore cultivate her Marine, by encouraging and nurſing by all means her gallant Mariners; a Race of Men perhaps not to be equall'd in the World in Bravery and Truth. Let her endeavour to improve and increaſe her Commerce in every Branch of it; and where ſhe obſerves among her Neighbours that the greater would oppreſs the leſs, then 'tis her Buſineſs, and then only, to throw her Balance into the lighter Scale; and this only means, in other Words, that ſhe is ſo to guard her own Intereſt, that no Power in *Europe* may at any time become ſo great to be able to maſter the reſt, and conſequently at laſt to be dangerous to her. And happy would it be, if the Genius of our Miniſters could in future times be confined within the Limits of our Iſland; they would then

ſider the nature of our Situation, and how we are defended and guarded againſt the many Inconveniences and Dangers to which our Neighbours on the Continent muſt be continually liable; and therefore whatever Quarrels they may have among themſelves, our Buſineſs muſt be to improve our Commerce, and to take care of our Navigation: A Miniſter therefore, whoſe Inclination leads him to be continually forming Alliances, and extending his officious Care to other Parts of the World, where it cannot be evidently and immediately of uſe and benefit to *England*; ſuch a Miniſter, I ſay, the more extenſive a Genius he may have this way, the more detrimental will his Adminiſtration prove to his Country: for if he is not adroit he muſt become the Dupe of others; and if he is able, and almoſt equal to this Buſineſs, yet ſtill he will often engage us in unneceſſary Dangers, and always in extraordinary Expences.

SINCE

SINCE therefore our Strength, our Treaſure, and our Security conſiſt in our Navy, and the Proviſion and Care that we take of the brave Seamen: it is apparently the Duty of thoſe, to whoſe hands the Affairs of our Navy are intruſted, to take care, by the moſt exact Oeconomy in the Regulation of our Marine, to make our Seamen chearful and eaſy in their Buſineſs, and that the ſeveral Acts of Navigation, as well as the Law made in the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, may be faithfully and punctually put in execution: to provide that their Victualling and their Uſage be good, and that no extraordinary Puniſhments, which may be called Cruelty's, may at any time be inflicted upon them, that there may not be extraordinary Complaints. And it is to be obſerved, that the Men are not often wrong in their Complaints; they may murmur when they are juſtly dealt by, but they ſeldom complain aloud when there is no foundation; they know

know when they deſerve the Puniſhment they receive, as well as when they are injured or depriv'd of their dues. If this cou'd be brought about, we ſhou'd never want Seamen, or be oblig'd to impreſs them, and take them by force out of our Merchants Service to man our Ships of War: The buſineſs of a Seaman being, as Sir *William Petty* has computed, a very profitable Employment to a common labouring Hand, the Wages of one Seaman, being in his time, equivalent to the Wages of three common Labourers, and therefore if proper Care were taken to execute the Laws well that give Encouragement to them, Men wou'd naturally deſire to put themſelves into an Employment where they find a comfortable Subſiſtence.

I HAVE not ſaid any thing in this little Treatiſe about the Pretender, nor betray'd any Fears of an Invaſion from that Quarter any more than any other; becauſe, I conceive, the Pope,

Pope, who ſeems at this time to be his principal, if not his only Patron and Protector, is not heartily inclin'd to do much more for him than he does. And tho the old Gentleman ſhou'd equip a Fleet of Galleys, and man them with his moſt experienc'd Seamen, and they ſhou'd weigh Anchor out of the Port of *Oſtia* with numberleſs Bulls, Benedictions, *&c.* tho the beſt diſciplined Troops in all *Campania* ſhou'd be furniſhed to his Service, and they too ſhou'd act under the Authority of a *Cruſado*, and be commanded by the moſt experienced Officers that can be found in *Civita Vecchia*, the Succeſs of the Expedition might be yet doubtful; their Galleys perhaps might not be able to live ſo well in our rough Seas, or to encounter our large Men of War, and ſhou'd they coaſt it round, and land in Safety at *Dover* with 1500 Tranſports, and 20000 bold *Italians* within them, there is yet one Objection remaining, that wou'd in my Opinion prevent their Succeſs;

ceſs; and that is, that there are not many who have Inclinations, and leſs who have Courage to declare for him: ſo that the beſt thing that they cou'd do wou'd be to ſteal home again, like *Bays*'s Army in Diſguiſe, with all manner of Expedition, which might eaſily be brought about if they cou'd perſuade our Fleet to keep out of the Way, or to fall aſleep upon the Occaſion.

AND now I have ſhewn how little Reaſon we have to apprehend Invaſions of any kind from Abroad; I think it incumbent upon me too to ſay, where I think the real Danger lies, and from whence I apprehend we may be invaded, and loſe every thing that is dear to us. Whoever obſerves, as who has not, the general Corruption that has ſeiz'd the Morals of the People, and the extravagant and diſſolute way of living into which many of our People of diſtinction are fallen, muſt know too that they generally outlive the Income of their Eſtates, and have by

that means very much entangled and embroiled their private Affairs, ſo as to be reduced by Neceſſity to be liable to Temptation; and thus they may at laſt become dependent, and capable of being bought, whenever a proper Purchaſer offers, the Conſequences of which may be terrible indeed. If ever it ſhall happen in future times, that the Way ſhould thus lie open to Corruption on all ſides, the great Council of the Nation it ſelf may perhaps become venal, ſell their Voices, *and contaminate their Fingers with baſe Bribes*; and whenever the Houſe of Commons ſhall vote, as Lawyers talk, for their Fees; when they, too, ſhall be retained againſt their Country, Slavery will be authoris'd by Law, the Country and its Repreſentatives muſt be in oppoſite Intereſts, and the Conſtitution become *Felo de ſe:* And to what then will every thing be reduced? what then will become of all your glorious Sruggles for Liberty? the Blood and Treaſure that have been conſumed, and the Statutes

that

that have been enacted in defence and preſervation of your Rights and Immunitys? Great *William*'s Deliverance, and a long and expenſive War againſt the Power that would have inſlaved *Europe*, will be rendered of no uſe: and the Blood of every Man, either ſhed in the Field againſt Tyranny, or in Councils by the Tyrant; even the Blood of *Sidney* and *Ruſſel*, will have been ſpent in vain. Every thing that we pretend to be poſſeſſed of, muſt be poſſeſs'd at the Will of the Purchaſer, and nothing will remain to us, but to lament the Condition to which we ſhall ſee our ſelves reduced, notwithſtanding the Examples that live in Hiſtory before our Eyes, of the many brave, opulent, and powerful Nations of the Earth, eſpecially the two great Republicks of *Greece* and *Rome* who became Mortal, and periſhed by the ſame means.

BUT I perſuade my ſelf, and I hope, that all theſe melancholy Apprehenſions

ſions will vaniſh; and that when the preſent Circumſtances of our Affairs are conſider'd, we ſhall ſoon ſee a conſiderable Reduction of our Forces: and this we are incouraged to believe will be done, from the known Wiſdom and Goodneſs of his Majeſty, and a due regard of the Parliament to the publick OEconomy.

FINIS.